776 believed to be the creator and originator of all things but he is not worshipped. Earth and death are ascribed to his action. According to Spencer, Nats is found in large trees, and in time of trouble or sickness offerings are made to him of an ox[sic] killed under a large tree, the meat to remain at a little distance away.[11]

Johnston states that the Lua believe in a supreme god, Chiang, which is the name for the sun.[12] Stan, however, relegates the sun to an inferior position and states that when a man comes out of his house in the morning he spits to the east and then to the north, south and west and implores the sun to give him good luck.[13] Hartmann states that Lua worship the sun and, to a lesser degree, the moon. A similar spitting ritual is practised when the sun sets appears.[14]

It is impossible at present to give a comprehensive account of Lua beliefs from the scanty information available.

ANCESTRAL SPIRITS

775 There is very little information on the ancestral cult. Evans-Pritchard describes a troublesome ghost (*jwok*, pl. *jwogi*) and the Lua methods of dealing with it. *Jwok* is the Lua equivalent of the Shilluk *com*, the Azande *kwoo*, Lango *ajwok* and the Dinka *aciek*. A spirit which has been dangerous by the living, the ghost of a man who died resentful or angry - or of a murdered man whose kin have not exacted revenge - may of these may become a *jwok*, and comes back to those who wronged it. The Lua regard ghosts as one of the principal causes of sickness and other misfortune, and, since it is held that almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by him after death, this belief is a powerful coercion of conduct within the family and kindred group.[15]

785 The diviner (*nyanga*) discovers the cause of sickness and, if it is due to a persecuting spirit, sacrifices are offered at his grave with appro-775 priate ritual. If the ghost is not appeased by this attention, another diviner is called in, the angels. To protect the sick man's homestead the angels burrow in at night at a pot containing medicines. In the last resort the jujuist is called in; he is in sacrifices and the ghost carried that if he does not cease his activities his bones will be dug up, burned and the ashes thrown into the lake or marsh.

775 Normally, a ghost only haunts a kinsman, but a man who has been mur-783 dered may haunt his murderer. Purificatory rites are performed for a man who has killed a man in battle; these are conducted by a man called *jago* who has himself slain a man in battle.

775 It is believed that some ghosts become nature spirits dwelling in water and air, while others occupy the ghosts cast by diviners and assume the appearance you've seen.

(11) Spencer, *The Northern Tribes*, 1910, p. 251.
(12) Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, Vol II, p. 791.
(13) Stan, *Anthropos*, 1910, p. 949.
(14) Hartmann, *Z.f.E.*, 1907, p.49
(15) Evans-Pritchard, *Man*, 1948 Letter, No 105, p.81.

were other sons by other wives growing up in the dale (dale = homestead), a woman would hasten the marriage of her own son lest when it came to paying the bride-price for him cattle might be short on account of the claims of other sons on the family resources.

Between the permission to marry, however, and marriage itself, there intervened a long chain of events, extending over months, and sometimes even over years. The mere choice of a bride was hedged about with complications and difficulties that often delayed a man's marriage considerably. This choice was, in the first place, limited by the rule that he might not marry any woman related to him, however distantly, either on his father's or on his mother's side of the family. To do this would be to commit incest, and would bring terrible consequences upon the clans and families concerned. If it happened, as it sometimes did, that a man fell in love with a girl without knowing whether he was related to her or not, only to find that she belonged to one side or other of his own family, the discovery put an end immediately to all intercourse between them. If, on the other hand, it could be established that the two were not related, the man would get permission from his father to take her as his wife, and the usual negotiations would be put in hand. It was, however, more usual for a man to leave the choice of his wife to his father, who would select a suitable maiden with regard only to the mutual advantage of the two families concerned. In this case neither the young man nor the girl were regarded as at liberty to relieve the marriage. If the son did so, it was at the cost of his father's deep displeasure; and this was a serious matter in the old days when a man was entirely dependent upon his father, not only for the means to acquire a wife, but for his livelihood in general. So to rebel was unusual. The girl was equally at the mercy of her parents. If she disliked the husband selected for her the only way to escape the match was to run off with another man. But if she did this her lover's father would only pay a very small bride price for her, even as little as a single cow, and not only was she considered to have disgraced herself (and materially in view of the severe pecuniary loss suffered by a family losing a daughter for whom the customary cattle had not been received) but her conduct was regarded as a slur on the whole family.

If a young man was specially anxious to marry a girl who was not debarred by any relationship from becoming his wife, and who returned his affection, he could establish a sole claim to her by working her breast before witnesses. After this ceremony she could not be given in marriage to any other man. The existence of such a custom is sufficient proof that among the Lue, as among the more civilized, marriage is often the outcome of a strong personal attraction between a man and a woman. And the fact that tribal custom provides for such a contingency within an otherwise largely utilitarian

24 § 25 indicate that sowing time is at hand. In the autumn, there is the ordinary Abisan kite, which comes over literally, at times, in thousands, loading in the air, and on the ground on the swarms of flying ants. Some withhold their sowing until these birds appear.

24 § 32 In exceptional cases an important sacrifice, called " kilo " was performed before sowing took place. If the " Jadwong' kilo " was warned in a dream of impending disaster to the coming season's food supply, he called the elders of the community together for the purpose of the ceremony. " Kilo " was performed to avert any disaster threatening the community. It was always performed in the early morning, before the cattle had gone out to grass. The present " Jakilo " in Sakwa location performed the ceremony of " kilo " in 1931 when the people of Sakwa had a boundary dispute with their neighbours of Asembo. He performed it again in the early months of 1933 to get rid of the locusts. It is natural that not a few in Sakwa attribute the absence of locusts this year to the effect of this ceremony.

24 § 77 When the time was ripe for sowing, the " Mikayi " or chief wife of the head of the community, was always the first to sow. None dare begin their sowing until the " mikayi " had thus given permission. Any who were so bold as to begin before the " mikayi " were made to feel the displeasure of the community. As recently as 1931 I have known a man to come under discipline for sowing too soon. But what with the efforts of the Agricultural Department, pressing upon the people the wisdom of early sowing, together with a widespread knowledge of the nature of the months, re-inforced by the rise of individualism, accompanied by the breakdown of tribal authority, the influence of the " mikayi " is steadily waning. Amongst the more advanced sections of the communities it has ceased to exist, and they are no longer subject to discipline for early sowing. After sowing comes a pause, but not for long. About April weeding begins. This is shared in by all. Amongst the sturdier crops, it is done by the hoe, but in crops like the small millet, called " bal," the seed is sown too closely for there to be room for a hoe, so it has to be done by hand, the women squatting down on their heels and pulling up the weeds. This results in a much trampled crop, but it very soon recovers, and suffers no damage. In recent years the Administration has made great efforts to get people to eradicate the striga weed, called by the Luo " kayongo." This weed shoots up, curiously enough, after the customary weeding has been done. The Luo-let it grow in spite of the fact that they know that land infested with it must be left for a term of years. I have over and over again tried to persuade them of the wisdom and benefit of getting rid of it, but to no avail. Anything which comes after the routine weeding has been done is allowed to remain.

12: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936)1950
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775 133 In one form or another the word *cira*, and in some
171 degree the notion of ghostly vengeance for which it stands, have been recorded for a number of Nilotic languages: *cira* for the Shilluk and Nuer, *acira* for the Dinka, *acira* for the Anuak, *cilwo* for the Luo of the Bahr al-Ghazal, *kwoc* for the Acholi, and *dyoc* for the Lango.

753 Very little is known about this concept among the Luo of
755 Kenya. Routledge (*The Northern Bantu*, 1905, pp. 186ff. and
775 189) tells us that sickness may be due to a ghost, and that a medicine-man is consulted to find out which ghost is causing the trouble and the cause of its dissatisfaction. These troublesome ghosts are usually those of grandparents who afflict their grandchildren because their children have been neglectful of filial duties. The medicine-man orders a shrine to be built by the grave of the aggrieved grandparents and the sick person's father then offers a sacrifice. Ghosts may also possess persons and cause them to have fits. When a man kills another in war the ghost of the dead man is thought to cling to his slayer until it is released by ceremonies. Other writers on the Luo do not add to this information, and in view of our ignorance about the subject I record what few notes I have on it.

775 A troublesome ghost is called *juogo* (*plur. jwondi*), a
626 word translated 'devil' by the Fathers of St. Joseph's Society (*A Handbook of the Kavirondo Language*, 1902, p. 8). When a ghost is aggrieved it is unhappy among the dead and may cause injury to those who wronged it in life, the verb *cuno* and the noun *cira* being used to describe this ghostly vengeance. In the course of my inquiries I was told that the following are typical reasons for a dead person lamenting a kinsman: a man is killed and his kinsmen do not exact vengeance or compensation for his death; a man dies unmarried owing to lack of cattle; a man is blamed for some action and commits suicide; a girl is forced into marriage and commits suicide; a son dies while resentful because his father has favoured his brothers; a married woman dies after being accused of witchcraft and leaves; a man dies in a state of shame for some action of his, or in resentment for some affront; a woman dies after an

[p. 86 B]

12: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936)1950
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775 quarrel with her husband or one of her co-wives,
and a ghost is forgotten by his kin. It is said that if a corpse
626 smells it is a sign that the dead person is ill disposed. As the
Luo regard the ghosts as one of the principal causes of sick-
ness and other misfortunes and since it is believed that
almost any wrong done to a kinsman may be punished by
him after his death, it may be supposed that this representa-
tion is a powerful sanction of conduct within the family
and kin. I was told that any old person who is neglected
may cause a relative to be more attentive by the threat "You
will see me," meaning that when the person is dead he will
haunt those who have neglected him unless they make
amends. People who are happy and contented in life do not
cause trouble when they are dead. It is the disgruntled and
resentful who cause trouble.

763 Luo who fall sick get a diviner (*ajuoga*) to discover the
753 cause, and if he says that the sickness is due to a particular
775 ghost on account of some grievance they hasten to compen-
[D7] sate (*yoh*) the ghost for the wrong they have done him by
sacrificing an animal or fowl at his grave. It is customary to
sacrifice a quail or fowl for a sick woman and a sheep or
goat for a sick man. When a beast is sacrificed it is first
ordered while whoever is conducting the ceremony makes
an invocation (*lame*) over it. If the sacrifice is acceptable to
the ghost the animal urinates. They then rub in black (*wiro*)
with the moist earth where it has urinated, and afterwards
sacrifice it. The name is given by the sick man's kin and a
strip of the skin is tied round his wrist.

755 If the *jacien* is not appeased by sacrifice they may get a
775 magician called *magalo* to protect the sick man's home-
stead. He burns a pot containing medicines in or just out-
side the homestead. If the ghost continues to cause trouble
they summon an exorcist (*nabii*). He first sacrifices an ox
and warns the dead man that if he is not content with the
sacrifice he will dig up his bones and burn them and throw
the ashes into lake or marsh. Luo told me that they prefer
to get a Bantu to do this for them, if it is found to be
necessary, and that sometimes instead of digging up the
dead man's bones the exorcist makes a hole in the grave
and pours boiling water down it.

[p. 86 c]

16: Northcote G-5 (no date) 1907 FL11 Luo FL11

THE NILOTIC KAVIRONDO.

By G. A. S. Northcote.

101 The Nilotic Kavirondo, or *Jaluo* as they should more properly be called, who inhabit the north-eastern shore of the Victoria Nyanza, belong to the same family as the great Dinka tribe of the Soudan and are near relations of the Alur and Acholi tribes which live on both sides of the Nile near Wadlai, the differences being far less marked than those between two adjoining Bantu tribes usually are.

114 In all probability, therefore, the Jaluo originally formed one tribe with the Acholi. What their reasons for migration were cannot be ascertained, but probably it was due to overcrowding or to a dispute about the chieftaincy. The natives themselves can throw but little light on the matter: they state that they came from the north-west under one big *chief* and that when they again became too numerous they split up into smaller chieftaincies. The fact that they lay stress on their again increasing numbers points to the conclusion that overcrowding was their motive for migrating; but as will be seen later, they use *secession* as their *chief* weapon against an unpopular chief. Had they been driven out by conquest there would be abundant traces of such a cause, but no such signs are visible.

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192 In appearance the Jaluo are a fine race, not so much remarkable for beauty of face as for stature and development. They are a large-boned and deep-chested tribe, somewhat fleshy and very muscular. They present a great contrast in this last respect to the other Nilotic tribes in British East Africa, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa. All four are capable of great endurance, but none of the last three named can claim to be a muscular race. The superior physique of the Jaluo is probably due mainly to their agricultural and industrial habits and to the fact that their food is mainly vegetable, while up to the great cattle plague of 1892, the Masai, Nandi and Lumbwa lived entirely upon animal food.

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Facially the Kavirondo have rather aquat noses, large mouths and big wide-opened eyes. The everyday dress of the men consists of a goat skin hung over the left shoulder, or of nothing. In most cases they have quantities of iron wire on their legs and arms and strings of beads round their necks. The women are usually completely nude, except that married women wear a small grass tassel behind, hanging from the waist; latterly, however, they have taken to wearing a strip of cloth round the waist about six or eight inches in breadth and only just covering in front.

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[51] The tassels are discarded when a woman's husband dies and cannot be again worn until she is re-married. It is significant of the respect which the Jaluo have

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
FL11 Luo FL11

was regarded as a juvenile. The homestead was supervised by the levir of his father's second wife. The young man desperately wanted to marry. His stepmother, however, had spread the rumor that he had had syphilis. Therefore none of the eligible girls would have him. He went to a medical dispensary off and on for several months but treatment was not successful. 762 159

While he was away, a half brother, the son of the senior living wife of the village, married without his knowledge. The young man obviously had been under intense emotional strain caused by the rumors and gossip associated with the fact that he had a venereal disease. He was the senior son by Luo customary law and on marriage would be the head of the village. His half brother had taken a wife. This added to the humiliation and shame and would bring ridicule upon him whenever he met with his contemporaries for the rest of his life. This was too much. He went to the *thim*, the no man's land surrounding his clan grazing area and the place where the ancestors are normally placated, and there hanged himself from a tree. [626]

His brothers and relatives were concerned about his absence and suspected what he had done. He was found by one of them after many days and his family and minimal lineage group completely destroyed the tree, including the roots, and there on the spot buried him and performed his funeral rites. The family was cleansed by the *jabilo* and the ancestors placated to receive his spirit by the sacrifice of a white cockerel and a black sheep. [783]

The first son to be born to his brother's marriage was named after him to placate his spirit and to continue his name in the lineage genealogies.

Naming a child for a relative who had died is used by the Joluo in many ways, but only after consultation with the *jabilo*. It is obvious therefore that any misfortune which occurred to the family or to the lineage segment after this suicide was attributed to it. The fact that the first child born after the suicide 762 553

19:Wilson E-5 (ca. 1950) 1960
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a criminal offense. He was caught, and the Court fined him a relatively large sum of money and gave him thirty days in which to pay. He became very depressed and, after unsuccessful attempts to raise the money, he hanged himself.

Suicide Case No. 6.

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The man involved was in his early thirties, and was in a position of trust with a Local Government body in Nyanza Province. He was alleged to have abused his position of trust by embezzling a considerable sum of money. The auditors had come across this defalcation in the books and brought it to his attention, but before he was arrested he killed himself by falling on a knife. Both the cause and the method can be said to be modern.

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Case numbers seven and eight involve a loss of status, but on the other hand are attributable to poverty.

Suicide Case No. 7.

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An old man whose wives had all died had to depend on his sons for support. The sons supported the old man while in his village but, after a quarrel, built a new village of their own and refused to build a house for him. As he had no one to support him and as he felt that he was ostracized by his sons, he had, to quote the Luo elders, "No other recourse than to commit suicide. His sons killed him and will suffer." He hanged himself on a thick tree which grew by a river, where he was found by an ex-chief. The Luo elders were quick to point out that he achieved his revenge, because the descendants of his sons were already few in number and mostly girls. "The line will die out because they killed him."

Suicide Case No. 8.

The man in this case was a widower living with his only son, who gave him food, but could not afford to maintain the ap-